1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 788 because the mere act of bringing whatever they had to contribute gave them an emotional uplift.

793 737 874 177 But still we had not seen the end of the bishop's good works. In 1949 he had organized a home for the aged where seventy elderly people live in relative comfort. The most ambitious project of all, however, was a polytechnic school started for the youth of the area. He had already spent about $37,000 on the first floor alone. The school had opened the previous November (1952) and already had two hundred pupils. Here was an institution that the Marshall Plan had helped. The school bore the name Papaflessa, in honor of one of the Greek patriots of the war of independence. While looking over this school we also learned about one more activity, a hospital of one hundred and fifty beds whose foundation had just recently been laid by the bishop and his coworkers.

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793 794 457 The financing of even one of these undertakings, not to say the whole complement of institutions, would be a staggering task in any country, especially in one as poorly endowed as Greece. Although the bishop never confided the secret of his success, I heard from others that skillful diplomacy had stood him in good stead. He would start with a certain amount that he could take from his bishop's fund; he would then go to Athens and persuade the people in the Welfare Ministry that local people would match the funds of the central government if it would contribute; then, back home, he would call together the leading businessmen and say that he could get so much from the central government if they would put up such-and-such an amount. Since all parties did their share, he was able to get the necessary money for capital expenditures.

793 794 428 769 For the operation of these institutions, and their total number of inmates or patients is considerable, he draws upon other resources. Some of the people in his diocese upon death will to some specified institution their homes, olive groves, or money. Instead of having an expensive memorial service, with several priests, for a dead relative at the stated periods required by the church, the people are having simple memorial services and giving the difference in what they would pay to an institution; instead of buying expensive wreaths, they are giving the money to the foundling home, the sanatorium, or perhaps the old people's home. The bishop, too, has organized the rural parishes so that each parish turns over olive oil, meat, cheese, and eggs to a person who collects this produce and distributes it to the institution. Or, as already mentioned, some of the people want to bring their contributions in person. Many are asked to donate labor: one builds a door, another puts in windows, and everybody has a sense of participating.

748 Visiting the bishop raised many questions in my mind about all that I had learned in America about modern child-welfare practices, care of the aged, and the like. Social work as a profession is just getting a start in Greece; much humanitarian activity is carried on by upper-class women of

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the cities in the spirit of *noblesse oblige*. Under the circumstances in Greece today, nothing could seem more natural to the local people than to have the church, in the person of a gifted bishop, work out arrangements to meet their pressing welfare needs. How such a complicated network of institutions would be kept going should the energetic bishop not be around was a matter that gave one pause; but one must live in the present when human lives are at stake, and that is what the bishop was doing. He was following a well-established practice in making the church the channel for helping others.

The kind of help called *psychiko* is done for the soul, for the forgiveness of the souls of one's dead loved ones; it is customarily given in the form of helping the poor members of the community — the sick, the widows, and the orphans — out of purely Christian feeling. When some family is suffering misfortune in a village, the priest announces the fact in church and invites those who can help to do so. This is a form of aid in which those helping are not usually repaid, which makes it differ from the kinds of mutual aid discussed in an earlier chapter. In Koroni, in the western Peloponnesos, for instance, if a widow needs a crop harvested or threshed, grapes picked, or some field work done, the priest will announce that on such and such a day this widow has *xelassi*, as this arrangement is called, and those who wish can go to help. She feeds them, but they derive a spiritual rather than a material benefit from the work they contribute.

Or in Epirus, some important member of the community, not the priest, may send out the town crier or field guard to call from some height: "Listen, village, tomorrow we will carry from the mountain some wood for the home of Kyra Tassena, the widow of Tasso. All those who have mules must send them and those who haven't got any must come to help. Nobody must be missing."[18] He will then close with the proverb, *tona cheiri nivi talo kai ta dio to prosopo* (the one hand washes the other, and both of them the face).

Sundays and holidays, days on which peasants are not supposed to work in their own fields, are quite suitable for psychiko, or work done for the good of one's soul. D. A. Petropoulos, on whose article much of this discussion of psychiko is based, maintains that what characteristically distinguishes Christian philanthropy from ancient Greek philanthropy is that the first connects religion with the salvation of the soul, while in the ancient days help was given out of a purely logical understanding in order to have a normal social and communal system.[19]

The transition from this method of dealing with human need to the professional approach of contemporary social work is quite a leap. What progress is being made in training social workers in Greece is through the Young Women's Christian Association (but this again is a semireligious attachment), or through the Queen's Fund, providing scholarships at Pierce College.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

783 748 Pierce College. It is hard for most Greeks, no matter how highly trained, to bring into the social worker–client relationship an objectivity modeled on the doctor–patient relationship. The Greek social worker finds it difficult to think of the client as a case and almost immediately empathizes or scolds in a way that would be considered quite unprofessional by American standards. Psychiko, hardly the twentieth-century rationale for social welfare, continues strong in Greece today, and the Bishop of Messenia is doing much to keep it alive in his diocese, which seems much the better for it.

The Peasant Confronts Death

761 773 775 The peasant assumes that there is an afterlife and talks about doing kind deeds "for the good of the soul." But these practical villagers do not talk much about death, although they do have some fixed beliefs and prescribed customs which stand them in good stead when confronting it. For example, there is the matter of Charon who, according to the beliefs of ancient Rome, was the boatman transporting the dead across the River Styx. I shall never forget the sensation of riding along in the northern Peloponnesos between Kleitoria and Kalavryta, enjoying the bright May afternoon, when my interpreter pointed out a small and pleasant stream said to be the waters of the Styx.[17] Greek peasants do not assign the same role to Charon as did the Romans, for they think of Charon as death itself, or as the angel of death whom God sends down to bring back the soul of someone whose time on earth has run its course. There are many songs and stories about Charon, who is personified as one who wrestles with individuals for their lives or who uses craft to draw the soul out of the body. From time to time he is supposed to have displayed something akin to human sympathy:

> *God and Death:* Once upon a time God sent death to reap a soul but when death heard the lamentation of the relations and saw the beauty of the girl whose soul he was supposed to reap, he felt sorry and returned to heaven without accomplishing his mission. When God asked him why he didn't bring the soul, death replied that he couldn't stand the crying and despair that he had heard and seen. God got very angry and hit death so that he became deaf, blind, and lame. He made him deaf so that he couldn't hear the crying, blind so that he couldn't see whether the soul to be taken away belonged to an old person or a child, and lame so that he could not run away from the place where he was sent.[18]

761 775 [772] Although church art, depicting the medieval Christian conception of heaven and hell, has had some effect upon the view peasants take of "the next world," the people very often reveal a more basic belief in Hades as "a common meeting-place of all whose lives are ended, without distinction of merit. Death is a deprivation of the joys of life, which, with all its troubles and cares, is sweet. The old uneasy feeling that after death it is

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Children do, of course, run many errands and do respond to many orders given them. The point here is that the process has some of the quality of capriciousness we have seen in other contexts.

The capriciousness of human relationships is also understandable in the context of the meaning of village talk and conversation. The situation is one in which a child, following the example of adults, learns the appropriate verbal statements and responses but understands that much real communication occurs through tones of voice, bodily movements, and an estimate of the particular qualities of the particular event, rather than through words alone.

Talk in Vasilika, which literally aims at inducing direct action by others, also serves as a means of asserting a degree of equality in all human relationships. Just as children listen to, but need not accept, advice from parents, and parents receive comments and advice from their children that they may or may not accept, so people in higher prestige positions feel free to give advice and make suggestions to people in lower positions and vice versa. Social workers who occasionally visit the village have no hesitation in directly suggesting to a village woman that she take off her kerchief or that she have her teeth fixed. Conversely, the villagers do not hesitate to tell the social worker that she ought to eat more because she is too thin. Doctor and patient, waiter and customer, priest and parishioner, government official and taxpayer will, on some occasions, engage in the ritual of advice-giving. This pattern of relations cuts across the respect for expertness, for the skills of the specialist discussed in an earlier chapter. The right to a certain give-and-take underlies all relationships and serves to keep each situation unique and each relationship one of equality on at least some level. In agonistic situations, it is one means of reverting to an acceptance of common humanity.

Conversational skills are directly a part of the contests in two ways. First, skill in oratory and argument gives one an edge in the contests. The aim of the discussion usually is not to arrive at a rationally based conclusion or to exchange information, but to display skill at allusions, verbal quips, and niceties of expression. *Kuvenda* (conversation) provides men and women with an opportunity to boast of their own and their family's achievements and gives men a special opportunity to display their political knowledge and interest and to engage in political argument. Conversation of this kind has some of the quality of an arena in which each man displays himself as an individual and waits for an audience response. People talk at each other rather than with each other.

Second, talk enters into the agonistic relation when people try to elicit information from others by their questions and comments, and the others conceal as much as possible by their answers. If one gives a piece of news to another, and the receiver can say, "*To ematha*," "I have already learned that," the receiver says it with a touch of pride and has scored a small point. The news of a serious accident to a member of one family will be divulged to other related families; unrelated families may pick up the information, but frequently do not pass it on, partially to avoid giving the original family undue prominence. The villagers acquire skill in extracting information by indirect means. One of their